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presence. The Indian himself and everything he owns are more or less red with urucú. Whatever they take hold of turns red, as does anyone living among them. The urucú stain on an article is not conceived as dirt, but as an embellishment. Any trace of earth on prepared food is removed by scraping and washing, yet no one dreams of attempting this with the imprint of the cook's ten digits. The Indians grow irritated if civilized people voice disparaging comments about the use of urucú; any person or article reeking with the pigment is a thing of beauty. A collection of ethnographica from any Timbira tribe is marked by the varying red, brownish-red, and yellowish-red tints of urucú. Especially when fresh the pigment emits a strong odor which civilized observers identify as "stench," while it delights the Indian's nostrils no less than the red color pleases his eyes. Naturally the odor is attached to the Timbira himself and all his belongings.

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In order to have the pigment constantly available the urucú shrub (pq; *Bixa orellana*) is planted beside or behind the dwelling. The red pigment, forming the thin layer of a moist mass, surrounds the seeds in their capsules. The Indians either gather fresh capsules from the shrub according to need or harvest the mature capsules, removing the seeds for storage in gourd bottles, which are plugged with stoppers. More particularly it is the young girls who always keep such bottles suspended by their beds. Men never own them since they are always painted by the other sex. After a while the pigmented mass dries on the seeds; then it is necessary to prepare the coloring matter with the oily juice of babassu seeds. The urucú seeds are poured into the hollow of the hand, the juice of the chewed babassu seeds is expectorated over them, and the mixture is rubbed between the flat palms. The pigment thus produced is removed with the finger or a little rod, either for immediate use or for storage in a little gourd bowl (pl. 14, m). These small urucú gourds, suspended from the back by a plaited cord, are the badge of the girl associates (p. 96), whose duty it is to paint the members of their festive organization. The pigment remains visible even after several baths.

Another mode of preparation is derived from the Guajajara: after the washing of the seeds the fluid is condensed by boiling; roundish lumps are molded from the soapy mass; and these are wrapped in leaves or cloth. However, the older generation spurn this innovation because the urucú loses its odor in boiling. Chief Kukračá' objected in my presence when his niece wanted to paint him with pigment thus prepared and sent her for fresh capsules.

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Urucú is not only beautiful, but also useful, being credited with antiseptic (p. 50) and prophylactic virtues. Going to a pool for my morning bath before day-break on one occasion, I met my hapinpey, Çatú, who was about to start on a hunting trip. (See p. 100 f.) He was carrying a gourd bowl with a handful of urucú seeds, which he mixed with water; then he drank the red liquid, declaring it would give him luck in the chase. He insisted on my taking a few drafts; eagerly overruling my objection that I had no intention of going after game, he informed me that that made no difference: urucú was good for any purpose, it was impossible to use enough of it. Whenever I obtained urucú for my collection, I was generally admonished to employ it extensively.²²

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As a matter of fact, the effect of the red pigment on the Indian's dark skin is very agreeable, but, on a North European it is too showy. The Ponto women, however, had the contrary impression: unable to understand my wish to rid myself of my coat of urucú from time to time by washing it off with soap, they imagined that I wanted to be quickly and more effectively repainted. A man's kinswomen

²² Nimuendaju, *The Social Structure*, 52.

Nimuendajá: The Eastern Timbira

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Notwithstanding Ribeiro's explicit assertion that the Krabó' of 1816 did not know how to raise or treat cotton, it seems to me to have been native to all North-western and Central Gê before the advent of civilization. In the first place, cotton is employed in a variety of ways—in wholly aboriginal forms of industry as well as in ceremonial, notably in the boys' initiation festival. A second argument is the technique of plaiting cotton carrying slings for children, though it must be admitted that according to Ribeiro¹⁰⁰ their material was burity bast. Third, there is the form of the spindle, deviating from the neighboring Neobrazilian and Guajajara parallels (pl. 18, a); finally, all the Northwestern tribes share the same word for cotton.

Ethnographically, however, the kupá is the most important of Timbira cultivated species. This creeper (*Cissus* sp.) has starchy tendrils, which attain the thickness of an inch and are baked in earth ovens. It does not occur wild; is restricted, so far as my information goes, to the Eastern and Western Timbira and the Serente, all of them Gê tribes; and is pronouncedly xerophil. Accordingly, it is probably a very old cultivated species peculiar to these tribes, which could not have borrowed it from either Neobrazilians or any of their present Indian neighbors.

As for tobacco, my corresponding comment on it among the Apinayé also holds for the Eastern Timbira. Apparently they were acquainted with it before the coming of civilization, but even nowadays they do not plant it, the timid attempts of this or that Ramkó'kamekra having invariably failed to yield satisfactory results. I did not observe a single case of its magical or ceremonial use among these people. Both sexes, however, are passionate smokers and constantly beg for tobacco. They smoke cigarettes of maize husks or tanyary bast; a few also use little clay pipe bowls bent at an angle, with bamboo stems (kašim; Portuguese, caximbo). The chief Kukráčá' manufactures very pretty and neatly finished specimens, partly for sale to Neobrazilians, among whom the same form is in vogue.

Urucú and pepper shrubs, as well as sporadic *Crescentia*, mango, lemon or orange trees, are planted beside or behind dwellings, the young plants being guarded against roving pigs and fowls by little fences of vertically set sticks or by circumscribed quadrangles made of former racing logs.

The true plantations (pl. 5, a) are situated in the narrow *galeria* forests by the brooks. Since annually new clearings are necessary, the distance of the plots from the village steadily increases. When the transportation of the crops becomes altogether too cumbersome, the Indians are obliged to move their village near the new plots. Thus, the Ramkó'kamekra migrate with fair regularity about every ten years from the Ribeirão Santo Estevão to the Ribeirão dos Bois. While they are stationed by one of the two creeks for from ten to twenty years, the timber of the other grows again sufficiently to permit the creation of new plots.

Each individual family has its plantation, owned by the woman. No single man owns a plot, but many an unmarried woman claims one and gets her kinsmen to make the requisite clearings, this being an exclusively masculine task. For the last hundred years only iron axes have been in use, different brands being very well distinguished by the natives, who rightly prefer the North American "Collins" blades. No one nowadays is able to haft such stone blades as are still occasionally found. The method of felling timber with iron tools coincides with Neobrazilian practice. Though not every Indian has a good ax suitable for the purpose, he may borrow a relative's.

The several plots belonging to the married woman of an extended family usually, but not always, adjoin one another. At times one individual family may simul-

¹⁰⁰ Memoria, § 12.